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One of the relatives goes to the man who knows the ceremony. He says, "We have been unable to bring up our children. We need you to help us."

My relative sits there. He just makes some kind of sound in his throat first. Then he says, "Well, I'll do it. But I need a buckskin with a piece of turquoise tied at the middle of the head and a yellow horse. Give two other things, anything you wish, just so it makes four, a set of four."

They get these things together and bring them to him, and the ceremony takes place.

Once he has accepted the task, the shaman busies himself with the construction of the cradle. With prayers and ritual, oak, ash, or walnut is gathered for the ovate frame, and sotol or yucca stalk for the cross-pieces that will form the back of the cradle.

For the back part of the cradleboard, the cross-pieces are of sotol if the cradle is for a boy, and of narrow-leafed yucca if it is for a girl. The sotol, which is jagged edged along the leaf, is called the boy, the "he"; the yucca is called the girl, the "she." These plants are brother and sister, we say.

This sex distinction, however, is not acceptable to all.

A canopy to shield the child's face is made of the stems of red-barked dogwood, mock orange, or Apache plume. A piece of ash connects the frame and the canopy, and ash or oak is used for the footrest. The bedding is of wild mustard, and a pillow of *Solanium trifolium* prevents excessive movement of the head. The buckskin covering for the frame is usually colored with yellow ocher. In the buckskin which covers the top of the canopy, symbols are cut which sometimes have sex value. The girl's cradle is usually decorated with a full moon or half-moon; the boy's cradle, with a cross or four parallel slits.

Some feel that cradleboard materials may be prepared in advance but that, once actual construction has started, the work should be finished the same day. Others permit the outer frame to be made on one day and the cross-pieces and canopy on another. Still others have no strong conviction about the length of time to be allotted to the process as long as the cradle is ready when it is needed. It is assumed that all steps in the construction have been accompanied by prayers for the welfare and long life of the infant. The shaman ties protective amulets on the cradle—bags of pollen, turquoise beads, and pieces of lightning-riven wood.

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions. One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
[852] occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[856] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cra-
[482] dle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
[492] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead. Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle
751 to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
[753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms. To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child, a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
[755] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides?*) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls.

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins

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291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as [531] a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One in- [178] formant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments •789 of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the 855 camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their [857] hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes [515] are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 "tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the 855 hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and 751 adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 The home in which the family lives is made by the women and is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the [462] floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and ap- proximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles [824] of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes [412] made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the frame- [283] work, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

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865 Another punishment for crying is to pour a little cup of water slowly on the
861 child's head. It is cold and the child stops. Then we get another cupful and ask, "Going to cry again?" The child says, "No."

But the parent is usually gentle with the child. "If you love a child, it is awful to hear him cry or to have other children angry with him. You want to play with him and please him." Therefore, forceful measures of any kind are avoided where threats will gain the desired end. "We tell children we will put them in a sack if they are not good. I told it to mine. I never did it though."

863 Instead of punishing a child for enuresis, other means are used
• 789 to treat the difficulty. "If a child wets the bed, we put a bird's nest there and let him wet it. Then the nest is thrown to the east, and the child won't wet the bed any more."

865 Another ceremonial aid in child-training calls for the assist-
881 ance of the adolescent girl at the time of her puberty rite: "If a
788 child, a boy or a girl, is mean, they bring it to one of the girls. She takes pollen and hits him on the mouth four times with it. Then he can't talk evil any more and will be good."

865 Thoughtless children who are a nuisance to their elders are
538 chastised in subtle ways. One of the most popular is to send an ill-mannered boy on a wild-goose chase. This is a favorite device of story-tellers. The old man bides his time; then, at a convenient stopping-place he picks up his tobacco pouch as though he is going to smoke, assumes his most innocent expression, and

. . . . says to this boy, "You get 'that with which one smokes' for me. I want to smoke with it and I left it over at the next camp." There is no such thing as "that with which one smokes." He just sends the boy to get rid of him.

When the boy gets over to the next camp, the man there tells him, "Go over to So-and-so's place. I just sent it over to him." Sometimes a boy chases it all night. Then another boy cuts up, and that boy is sent over to see what happened to the first one.

861 "The Chiricahua loves his children and does not like to whip
[855] them"; but, when other methods fail, he resorts to corporal punishment. "Parents never whip their children unless they won't get up and run a race or something like that. Parents try to make men of them, and some punish them for not minding.",

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His first attendance at the girl's puberty rite is likely to be an unforgettable occasion. He is brought forward that his face may be painted with pollen by the girl. To insure his health and growth, she may pick him up and hold him to the directions, and, if he is small for his age, she may be asked to place her hands under his chin at the neck and lift him.

So that a child may grow tall he is lifted four times to the new moon. He is warned never to urinate in an anthill, lest he have bladder stones. That he may not become lonesome in the absence of a departing relative, the traveler wets his finger with saliva and touches it to the child's face. If, nevertheless, he does get lonesome, a basket is placed four times over his head. When their father is on the raid, the children are urged not to throw the wood for the fire around carelessly, lest their parent become confused about the direction to take. When a child loses a tooth, he is counseled to say, "I hope I have another tooth," and to throw it to the east or to tie grama grass around it and throw it to the sun; that witches may not retrieve it and do him harm, he is told to dispose of it at some remote spot. The child is also advised not to watch masked dancers being decorated and never to call the name of an impersonator whom he may recognize. To safeguard him against sickness, a fringed buckskin amulet containing a growth from the creosote bush may be strung around his neck. Such practices, solemnly advised by his elders, impress the child with the efficacy of magical aids and with the proximity and power of the forces against which they are pitted.

During this early period, too, the child learns of the evil animals and the natural agencies toward which he must exercise special care. "Drop that feather!" someone may call as he stoops to pick up a buzzard feather. Or the nature of a disease resulting from contact with Snake is explained by one who has ceremonial power from it and knows its ways. A person with such knowledge often takes measures that protect the children of the vicinity:

In the summer when the snakes came back and the parents were afraid that the children would be bitten, this woman used to call many children together and sing for them, and she would put a cross of pollen inside each moccasin for them. She told them not to call Snake too much or it would come and not to look for it

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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869 When I was little I was told about death. According to what I was taught as
765 far back as I can remember, when someone died he would never come back to this world; he was gone. I was told that I must therefore never again call his
578 name, for I might accidentally say his name in the presence of his parents or other
761 relatives and they might scold me for it or slap my mouth. The parents taught the children that it is an insult to another person to call the name of his dead relative. If I was a little fellow and didn't know any better, someone might have slapped my mouth; then the families might have been angry, and there might have been trouble.

869 I was told that you never watch burial parties just to see what is going on.
764 Men and women show that they sympathize with those people who are carrying their relative to the mountains by getting out and crying when they go by, even though they are not related. You should never watch unless you are crying like this for them. Children should not watch at all.

869 At first, little attempt is made to enlarge upon the precise place of the owl in the death complex. But, as the child grows
825 older, the nexus between ghost and owl is clarified:

775 When I was young this is what I heard the old Indians say about ghosts and owls. They said that owls are part of ghosts. A night or so after a death you hear an owl close to the camp where the person died. Not only in that camp but in other camps near by the people hear that owl calling. They say, "That person is back over there again!"

[768] They claimed that if the dead man had a horse left alive there, or if any of his clothes were there, he would come back every night until his possessions were destroyed. He would come back after his things. If you had not destroyed what belonged to the dead man, the things he had had his hands on during his life, the owl would come every now and then, perhaps often, they said. Then it might bring sickness or bad luck to that family. That's the way I heard it long ago.

[789] And so to prevent sickness, if an owl cried around the camp, they set fire to a stick of wood, carried it outside, and threw it in the direction of the owl. Then it stopped [hooting].

869 In the following excerpt an informant recalls the manner in
775 which his father sought to satisfy his curiosity concerning the destination of the dead:

I asked, "Suppose I die. Where would I go?"

My father said, "When a man dies he is just like any human being and is just transferred to another state. He is in another world. There are mountains and rivers there as there are here." He called it the underworld. He said, "The habits you have on earth are carried with you. If you are a bronco-buster on earth, you would be a bronco buster in the other world. If you play hoop and pole on earth a great deal, you play that game all the time in the underworld. Whatever a person is accustomed to do on earth he will be doing down there."

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868 857 Boys begin their interest in horsemanship while they are still very young:

The Chiricahua would hobble their horses way off in the woods. A boy would play with the horse when no one was watching. Children from seven years of age and on would go and learn by themselves when the older people didn't even know about it. There were always some gentle horses for the boys to ride. I would crawl on a horse when I was about seven. I used to put my foot on his leg, get hold of his mane, and crawl up on his back. Sometimes I fell off again, but after a while I would get on the horse's back.

868 857 224 When the boy is sufficiently strong to handle a bow and arrows, some member of the extended family—the father, the mother's brother, or the grandfather—provides him with them and gives him the necessary advice.

When I was small I didn't know how to make a bow and arrows myself. My father said, "First, I'm going to make you learn how to hunt." He made a bow and arrows for me. Children use a small wooden arrow with a wooden point, but they can shoot a long way with it, for they have a good bow.

My father said, "Go ahead, son, and shoot birds and squirrels and any small things. But, before you try, I must tell you that these little birds and animals are not tame. They see you just as soon as you come in sight of them. The squirrels, as soon as they see you come anywhere near them, run away. You must see the squirrel before it sees you. You can't just run up to squirrels and shoot them, because they are wild. If you have to crawl to get where your arrow can hit a squirrel, do it.

"A bird is the same way. If he is over there on a limb, you must come around so that you can get within range of him. Part of the time you must crawl, because he is watching, and in that way you can get within range and shoot him. In hunting you must go very slowly and softly, not rattling stones with your feet or making rocks roll down a steep place. Go carefully; creep up to your game.

"It will be just the same when you hunt deer. Then you will still have to go slyly and carefully. Deer can see you before you see them. The deer places himself where he can see very well. You must look for him. You must go slyly up to him as if you were a fox. It's the same if you are hunting antelopes or any other animals; you must be very cautious."

That is the teaching for a little boy when he is given a bow and arrows. So I did these things, and it worked out exactly as he said.

825 1789 Most adults, when they present the boy with his first bow, advise him to swallow whole the raw heart of the first kill he makes to guarantee continued abundance from the hunt.

000 But no amount of good advice will prepare a youth for hunting

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These preparations tax the resources of any one family. Therefore, because of the pleasurable public aspects of the rite, individuals outside the relationship group may lend aid, and its approach is a signal for exceptional generosity in many matters. 881 431 476

The man who's with you [on the hunt] is ruling you. He tells you what he wants and takes it. But many times it happens this way: if you were out with a thoughtful man and you had a daughter who was going to have a feast next summer, this man you're hunting with might say, "Your daughter is going to have a feast, and you haven't enough buckskin. You keep all the hides." He would do that because maybe that might be your last chance to get buckskin.

Buckskin is needed for the ornamented dress which the girl will wear during the rite. At least five skins are required: two for the upper garment, two for the skirt, and one for the high moccasins. This clothing follows the ordinary dress in cut, but only choice materials are used, and the garments are decorated with special designs. The girl's mother, her grandmother, or some other close female relative may work on this clothing; but, if no one in the family has the requisite skill, an outsider may be hired. The maker proceeds carefully and according to prescribed rules. Doeskins or buckskins may be used, but the tail suspended from the jacket must be that of a black-tailed doe. For the upper garment the skin side faces outward; for the skirt the flesh side is out. 881 292 294 [602]

The garments are decorated with designs symbolic of the forces which will be supplicated on behalf of the girl. The morning star and the crescent moon may be represented, as may a stepped design symbolizing the dwelling. Circles indicate the sun, and fringes streaming from their centers, the sunbeams. Connected arcs stand for the rainbow. Before the dress is finished all parts have to be colored yellow, the hue of pollen. Yellow ocher may be rubbed on, or the buckskin may be dyed in a liquid prepared from algerita roots. [532] [386]

The dress must be blessed as well as beautifully finished: [789] [533]

While it is being made they have someone sing for it. J. [a man] used to do it. But this singer is usually an old woman. She sometimes sings over it during two months. The family has to give her a great deal for these services. Sometimes the woman who makes it ties amulets on and sings for every string.

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides now. He had to do it according to the Indian way. 881 793 533 [431]

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance. But for most of the guests the feasting, the social dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the greatest attractions. 881 [574]

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent mountain dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures privately on request, their main function is to engage in several spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers. 881 535 [776] [532] [756] [751] [755] [789] [789] [765]

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked-dancer shaman: 881 756

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They say, "Let's ask the old man." 535 574

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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[88] [776] [539] White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." This may explain the control over the weather and the curative functions of the adolescent at this period.

[302] [386] [882] [789] [755]

The "little" rite.—The physiological fact of first menstruation is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and is so important that reference is made to it by a different term from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

[881] [574] [192]

They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

[793]

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881 793 828 through and wouldn't do anything. And now she's cross, has a bad mouth and a high temper. But she's a good-looking woman all right!

And if the girls are not of good disposition and balk, it harms not only themselves but causes it to rain and spoils the good time of all the people. That's what happened at the last ceremony, and that's why part of the dancing was spoiled. So we try to keep the girls in good humor and coax them.

After eating and listening to the old woman, the girl is ready and comes out. From here on all the people see what happens.

881 793 In spite of general similarities, the rituals of various attendants differ in detail. The prayers show minor divergences. One attendant feeds the girl throughout the four days of the rite; another asks the singer to do this. Some attendants sing for the girl, though most of them only pray. One attendant washes the girl's hair the first morning instead of having the initiate do it.

881 793 533 346 [642] *The erection of the ceremonial structure.*—While the attendant is dressing the girl, the singer directs the building of the tepee-shaped ceremonial structure. Male relatives of the adolescent bring to the grounds four freshly cut young spruce trees, thirty to thirty-five feet long, from which all but the topmost boughs have been trimmed, and some oak boughs and yucca leaves.

At sunrise the singer requests the girl's male relatives and some of the visitors to arrange and erect the main poles. The trees are laid on the ground in clockwise order with butts equidistant from a central point and tips extending outward. The first to be arranged is the east pole. A second pole is laid with tip pointing to the south, a third lies to the west, and a fourth to the north. At the base of each pole a hole is dug. The singer sprinkles pollen on the poles from butt to tip. [788] Then near the leafy tip of each, in clockwise order, he ties a spray of sage and some snakeweed. To the east pole a bunch of grama grass may also be tied, [789] and at its top two eagle feathers are so attached that they will blow freely. This is to guarantee that "nothing is to happen while the tepee is up, that no poles shall fall." To this same pole a long rawhide rope is affixed.

[787] After a prayer has been said, knots of men lift the poles, sliding the butt ends into the holes prepared for them. As the poles

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881 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the painting and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who 535 have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and children, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since [796] the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals, a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits [954] with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints [534] the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accom- [531] panying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep [789] his voice from becoming hoarse."

[826] The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance 535 group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome restrictions:

> You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before. When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on [821] there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

535 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:

784 953 Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the [958] mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence as well:

> One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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[82 756 778]

shamans who obtain supernatural power from our planet, the earth is not personified, nor does it appear as a supernatural in the myths.

[805]

What attention is given to the sun, stars, and constellations by those who do not claim supernatural power from them is for the practical purpose of computing the passage of time and the change of seasons.

[82 776]

Much more determinate is the place of thunder (or lightning):

This is what I have heard about the lightning and thunder. I don't know what kind of people they are, but they are people. My parents and even older people used to tell me that they were just like humans in appearance. Some of them are good people and some are bad, just as people are here on earth. A good thunderstorm passes over with a good time for all. It does no harm; no one gets struck. But the bad ones go along hitting people, knocking down trees and destroying things. They say that the homes of these people are in the clouds. Thunder People is what they call them.

[823 172]

Lightning is the arrow of the Thunder People. I hear ceremonial songs, and in them they mention the "arrows of lightning." Not in my father's time or my grandfather's time did the Chiricahua make arrowheads of flint that were good to kill anything with. The flints they used are found around and are called "lightning's arrow" or "thunder's arrow." Some people say that they were made by men, but some Chiricahua say that flints like these are shot during a thunderstorm by the Thunder People.

[778]

. . . . They are persons and you can get power from them. They have children; they are just like regular people. Any of them can cause you to be struck by lightning. . . . . The Thunder People send lightning to punish some. Or, if someone did something bad to a man who "knew" Thunder, he could send lightning to avenge himself.

The flash is the flight of the "arrow," and the noise is the shouting of the real person, the one who is back of lightning and thunder.

[773]

At one time, runs a tale, the Thunder People acted as hunters for humans and with their arrows killed all the game the tribe could use. Ingratitude moved them to withdraw their support. It is important to court no risk of offending these well-armed inhabitants of the sky:

[825 789]

During a thunderstorm we go, "*pit, pit,*" in imitation of the bird called *pitc* [nighthawk]. This bird, a speckled one, flies around on cloudy days near evening. It swoops and darts around so fast that it is hard even for lightning to hit it. Therefore, we use its call. It is just like making believe that we are that bird during the lightning, and then it is hard for it to hit us too.

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821 [789] [539] Another thing to do when the lightning flashes is to make a spitting noise and say, "Let it be well, my brother, Lightning," or to say, "Strike high, my brother." Thunder you call grandfather when it hits close. When lightning is very close and sounds just as if it is going to tear up the ground, you say:

"Continue in a good way;
Be kind as you go through;
Do not frighten these poor people;
My grandfather, let it be well;
Don't frighten us poor people."

[753] Sickness induced by or through Thunder is frequent, and special practices and curative rites have grown up to cope with such disorders.

773 776 821 823 Through the mythology an association is established between water and lightning. In most versions of the birth of the culture hero, his mother is impregnated by Water, but in one variant Lightning strikes at the divine woman four times and thus causes her to conceive Child of the Water. Another version, after describing the impregnation by Water, relates that Lightning tests the hero, discovers him to be his son, and later helps him conquer a giant.

Another myth tells of a quarrel between Thunder and Wind concerning their respective abilities. They separate, to the great detriment of the earth. Finally a meeting is arranged, and, with Sun as mediator, they agree to labor together once more. As an aftermath:

The breathing of the thunder created four persons, and these were sent out in the four directions, and they were told that, whenever the earth trembles, they should come to the center. Lightning and Wind used their power to make the earth as it was before, with green grass and the proper amount of water.

773 776 825 The existence of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and natural forces sets the stage for the appearance of the animals of the mythological period. These animals look and talk like men. Coyote, usually a trickster with few redeeming qualities, turns benefactor for a short interval by stealing fire from those who have hoarded it and spreads it throughout the world. But, by opening a bag which he has been told to leave untouched, Coyote looses darkness. This is acceptable only to the night prowlers and fierce animals; the birds and the small harmless creatures

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776 More feared is Water Monster, who sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as a large serpent. He is responsible for drownings, and "when anything disappears at the water, they suspect Water Monster." "He is a swallowing monster. He would just swallow people up, and they'd disappear. There is a spring near here where they say there is a Water Monster. At Whitetail there is a spring like this. Even horses go there and never come out."

THE SHAMAN AND POWER

756 554 *The personnel of shamanism.*—In the great enterprise of traffic with the supernatural there is no hierarchy of religious leadership:

> There were not a few shamans. Supernatural power is something that every Chiricahua can share. Most of the people have some sort of ceremony, little or big.
>
> Shamans aren't ranked: each person knows a different thing, so no one is better than another. If you have the ceremony for a certain thing, you have it; that's all. If a shaman can't help you, he just can't cure you, and you get someone else.
>
> [589] One thing, like the power to make someone run fast, is enough to make you a shaman. The possession of any ceremony makes a person a shaman. A little rite makes you a shaman just as much as a long elaborate one.

Yet individuals whose cures are consistently spectacular and whose prophecies are often verified do achieve more than average renown:

> Those well known for their ceremonial work were usually pretty well off. They depended on ceremony for a livelihood to some extent, but they went along on hunts and did all the work that the others performed too. When men came [431] back from raids with booty, they were given many gifts. People went out of their way to help them.

756 126 554 At a time of strife the shaman whose ceremony pertains to the thwarting of the enemy may gain markedly in prestige:

> The shaman whose work has to do with war had a strong part in politics and could rise to a position of power. But ordinarily a man with another ceremony is just like anyone else. Geronimo got political power from the religious side. He foresaw the results of the fighting, and they used him so much in the campaigns that he came to be depended upon. He went through his ceremony, and he would say, "You should go here; you should not go there." That is how he became a leader.

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855 778 787 789 756 Despite these several instances, to obtain a ceremony before or at the age of puberty is the exception rather than the rule. Since most children are without supernatural protection of their own and are, furthermore, particularly susceptible to certain kinds of "evil influence," their parents and other close relatives assume responsibility for them and provide them with amulets, arrange crisis rites, and hire shamans for them when necessary.

778 787 585 756 But whether or not an individual has formerly been concerned about supernatural aids, he seldom ignores them after he enters into the marriage relationship, for now he must afford supernatural protection to others, just as it was provided for him. Time after time, when supernatural power approaches someone and asks what is desired, the person is represented as replying, "Something good for my children in this world," or, "Something to help my family."

Encounters with supernatural power, then, can occur at almost any moment in an individual's life, but relations with power and the use of power are essentially adult pursuits, of immediate survival and social value to the newly married in their hope for a stable and fecund union.

756 778 *Supernatural power obtained by direct experience.*—No matter how eager a man is to acquire a ceremony, the first gesture is always attributed to the power, for power requires man for its complete expression and constantly seeks human beings through whom "to work."

> It seems that these powers select for themselves. Perhaps you want to be a shaman of a certain kind, but the power doesn't speak to you. It seems that, before power wants to work through you, you've got to be just so, as in the original time. You've got to believe in things as in the old days and carry everything out.

Not only does power come unbidden but it has more than one way of making itself manifest:

> Some hear it, the power speaks to them. Power usually comes in a voice to the one who is getting a ceremony. The songs and words are from the power that gives the ceremony. A person doesn't fast or prepare for it. It comes on him. Sometimes it appears to a person in a vision. F.'s vision went around the dwelling like a blessing.

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756 power and to the close understanding the shaman has with it.
755 Such prophecy has its therapeutic function, too, for the religious
[787] zeal of all present is important in the successful outcome of any rite.

756 Supernatural experiences often bring to those who undergo
778 them special abilities and techniques which may be used quite
82 apart from any rite. It is not unusual to hear that a person possesses great bodily strength because his ceremony comes from Bear, that one who "knows" Bat is an excellent horseman, or that a man's speed and endurance date from his acquisition of power from Goose. It is often claimed that one who knows sun and moon power is able to look down upon distant events. Of a certain man, it was said: "When he went a long distance, he sang
[533] a song. In it were the words 'Near, near.' Then he got there sooner. He had songs for going a long distance and a short distance."

756 Another office of supernatural power is to bring success—suc-
778 cess in war and raid, in hunting, in love, in games, and in many of life's endeavors. The degree to which it has guided his efforts to acquire stock and to deal with the enemy was related by one man:

> Power told me that I was to get something if I went out on the raid. If I go out and look for something, my power gives me the ability to get horses and mules. The power sends me out and tells me, "You are going to get this."
>
> My power told me that the enemy was coming. It told me, "If you want the enemy to see you, they are going to see you. If you want to see the enemy, you will see them. If you don't want to meet the enemy, they will swing around the other way."

756 The location of lost persons and lost or hidden objects is an
778 important service performed by supernatural power. Usually
789 power guides the shaman's hand in the direction of the object or
787 person to be discovered. The ceremonial procedure, designated "it moves the arms about," is employed also in locating a foe. Usually the shaman stands, praying and singing, with arms extended, while the supernatural power moves him in the fateful direction. In ceremonies to find missing persons shamans use articles of clothing belonging to the one sought. Songs, prayers, or ritual acts carried on over the garments exert a controlling influence on the lost individual.

There are other ceremonial means of finding the enemy:

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A shaman who got his power from a star could locate the enemy by making a cross of ashes on his left hand and holding it up to the star, the morning star. This was much used in war. Sometimes the cross was traced in pollen, or abalone shell was held aloft in the hand. Then a flash of lightning in the direction of the enemy appeared.

Fugitives can be found and halted by ceremonial methods too:

A young man killed his wife and ran away. Her relatives were looking for him. Finally they found his track. They brought a ceremonial man to it. "I'll make him come back," he said. He knelt down, put pollen on the man's track, and prayed and sang. Then he put his hand in the track and turned it. "He can't get away. He will be back," he said. In two days this boy came to his stepfather's camp. They were waiting for him and caught him.

Of great consequence is the function of power in weakening the enemy and in providing invulnerability from attack:

One time they all saw the enemy coming, and the enemy saw them. The shaman said to the people, "I am going to make them disappear, and we shall disappear from their view also." Then he told the people to go behind a hill so they couldn't see the enemy. He alone stood on top of the hill.

After about twenty minutes the shaman told them all to come up again. When they came up, there were only cattle grazing around where the enemy had been. The shaman told the men to herd the cattle, drive them to the river, and shoot them and eat them there.

When it became apparent that the Mexicans and Americans were menacing invaders, the ceremonies to influence the enemy were extended to cope with them:

C. was going into Chihuahua. He wanted to go to a certain Mexican town. He knew the ceremony of Cloud and started to perform it. Cloud told him not to use it but to use the ceremony to influence the enemy which he also knew. So he did. Then he went right into the town.

The mayor was surprised to see him come. "Aren't you afraid? Don't you know we kill all of you Indians?" he asked C. "I'm not afraid. What should I be afraid of? I have done nothing against you," C. replied. And no harm came to him.

. . . . K. got into some trouble. He had to run away to Oklahoma. He came back afraid, for the agent had said he would fix him when he got hold of him. So he hired a woman to pray for him and influence the white man.

She walked up the road behind him praying. Then she said, "All right, go ahead and see the agent." Then she turned off the road. K. went right on to the office. The agent did not seem angry with him. In fact, he was glad to see him. It surely does influence them!

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Supernatural power further protects the warrior against his enemies by making him invulnerable to their arrows and bullets. The control of weather and natural events are other objectives of ceremonialists:

> There is a ceremony to bring rain when it is very dry. Then we get rain by calling on White Painted Woman and Child of the Water. The world is White Painted Woman. The thunder is Child of the Water. Sand, a whitish sand from Old Mexico, is used in this ceremony to call the rain. It is blown to the four directions. Also lightning is called on when the sand is blown, and a blowing noise, "Hoo, hoo!" is made. In the prayer there is mention of the number of days it should rain.
>
> I have a ceremony which, if carried out on the desert, would cause a sandstorm. But this would be uncomfortable for the people, and so I dislike to do it. It is a prayer. I used it when men were going to make a raid for horses so that they could get away without being detected. I throw sand into the air, blow against it four times, say the prayer, and it causes sand to blow around so thick that you can't see.

The length of day or night can also be controlled through power:

> When he was on the warpath, Geronimo fixed it so that morning wouldn't come too soon. He did it by singing. Once we were going to a certain place, and Geronimo didn't want it to become light before he reached it. He saw the enemy while they were in a level place, and he didn't want them to spy on us. He wanted morning to break after we had climbed over a mountain, so that the enemy couldn't see us. So Geronimo sang, and the night remained for two or three hours longer. I saw this myself.

MEDICAL PRACTICES

The nonritual treatment of ailments.—Though it is true that most of the ceremonies deal with ill-health, it does not necessarily follow that all sickness must be treated ceremonially. An individual may become sick through surfeit or through want; he may weaken himself by overexertion; he may suffer injury because of carelessness or needless daring. Advancing years bring their infirmities; old age "can kill you." "There are several ailments you can get by not taking care of yourself, by foolishness—such things as tuberculosis and venereal diseases." Of course, in any particular case, the reasoning may be reversed, and a malevolent person or force may be blamed finally for the trouble.

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When you are frightened by the owl, your heart begins to flutter; your heart gets weak and you fall down. I can pray for a person who has been frightened like this and, even though his heart is beating only a little, can restore him so that he gets up again.

Another story, so well known that it has been recorded from four different informants, concerns the return of a woman's ghost to her former home:

A man and his wife lived out at Whitetail. About two years ago the wife died, and the husband continued to live at the same location, though he didn't use the place in which she had died. One night he heard a knocking at the door. Then something was calling him by name. He went to the door but could see no one. This happened for three nights. He was very frightened. He kept his gun ready.

There was a full moon the fourth night. He had gone to bed. He thought he heard a rapping on the window. He looked and was pretty sure he saw his wife's face. He tried to talk to her. He said, "Come in at the door; if you have anything to say to me, let us see each other face to face." But no one came in.

After a while he heard the rapping again. This time he shot, and he heard groans. He was afraid to go out until morning. When he went out the next morning, he found a dead owl lying by the window. The next day he told the story. He knew he wouldn't live long after that, and he didn't last long. He could have gone to an owl shaman, but he didn't care much about going on living after that. [761]

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It is evident that owl sickness is but one aspect of ghost sickness. But, though all owls are ghosts, the ghost need not take the form of an owl to frighten or harm the living. A whistling sound at night, when nothing at all is visible, is attributed to ghosts. This has given rise to a rule: "No whistling is permitted at night, for then the ghosts whistle back to you and scare you." There are ways of protecting one's self when the whistle of a ghost is heard:

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When you get scared you get sick. If you go out on a dark night, you tie a small amount of ashes up and carry this. Put some ashes on your face too. When you hear a whistle at night, take some ashes and throw them in the direction of the whistle, and then the ghost gets frightened and doesn't scare you or bother you any more. Put ashes under your pillow too.

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The shade may call attention to its proximity by other audible means:

A young man was walking up a canyon with a girl in the moonlight. He heard a horse coming, trotting along. He thought it was somebody from the camps,

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This happened to S., and he was a good Christian then. He was asleep by a window. It was at the time of a big snow. That night someone knocked at the window. S. and his wife heard it. At first they paid no attention. Finally S. called and asked who was there. He received no answer. They went to sleep. In the morning they went to the window and saw a track there. S. started to follow it. The trail led to the mountain. He followed it for a while, but he got tired and came back. Tracks like that usually lead to graves.

The greatest misfortune of all is to see the ghost in human-like form and to recognize the actual features:

I have heard stories of persons who have seen the dead. Those who see things like that die within a year. A certain man's wife died. At that time he was well. After her death he saw his wife; she came back and talked to him. She said, "It is a better world where I am. Come on." This man took sick and died a short time afterward. There is no way to protect yourself or prevent your death when a thing like this happens.

Most often it is in dreams that the dead are distinctly seen:

Ghosts appear also in dreams, in sleep. That is the worst form, I guess. You really see them in a dream. I get like that. The door opens and they get closer and closer. I want to get up and fight, but I can't move. I can just say, "Ah!" The Chiricahua say this is ghost sickness. It can make a person very ill. It's a sign of trouble with evil ghosts if you do that too much, and you have to go to a shaman about it.

Sometimes at midnight or toward morning while you are asleep, you dream that a person is choking you. It might be a dead person, a relative gone a year or two ago. If it happens for another night or two, you must go to a ghost shaman. If you see a dead person in your sleep, you are not going to last long, they say.

A dream in which his recently deceased friend appeared before him was described by a much-shaken informant:

This morning about four o'clock I dreamed of Old P. standing at the door. I woke up frightened and grabbed my wife. Maybe he came back because I sang his ceremonial song. The very night that P. died I dreamed he came to me. I didn't tell my wife because she would have been frightened. But they don't bother me much. I have my cross,[12] and they stay away. P. claimed that he knew nothing but Yusn and Child of the Water.[13]

[12] The cross of the Silas John cult, a modern religious movement which draws in part from aboriginal religious ideas, in part from Christianity. The cross, made of algerita wood, is worn to ward off evil and witchcraft.

[13] The informant here is trying to reassure himself. Since Yusn and Child of the Water are beneficent supernaturals, he is proving to himself that his departed friend can be up to no mischief.

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fourth song, that the shaman ordinarily receives the message he awaits.

He may hear a voice, see a vision, or receive information in some other way. The sign is often for him alone; those around him know what is happening only when he interrupts his ritual after a visitation and addresses his power. Power may simply assure the shaman that the disease has been correctly diagnosed and that he need only complete the rite in its briefest form. For more serious illnesses, it may advise tests to determine whether the patient will recover, or it may suggest a plant remedy and give instructions for its administering.

Often medicinal herbs play a large part in the curing:

P. performed cures too. In his ceremony he would ask for it, the thing that would cure the sick person. You'd hear it on the roof. Then it was before you, a plant. He wouldn't take it up at once. He'd sing over it and talk to it first. When P. asked for it, it would come right through the crowd and land on the buckskin before him.

To produce some ritual object, to extract the "witch," or to demonstrate the potency of his supernatural source, the shaman may employ legerdemain:

Something I saw him do is more than anything I ever saw others do. As nearly as I remember, it was about 1888 when I saw B. go through his ceremony in Alabama. Word was sent out to meet in one place where B. was going to sing. A good many met there. It was a very pretty night, moonlight; everything was still. He called them all around. He spread a clean white sheet right out there. They lit some lanterns so you could plainly see any little bugs that walked on that sheet. He sat right there. He put a basket there. People crowded around watching him. I sat very close; I was pretty religious in those days. When something like this was going on, I'd be over there first.

Before he started he said, "Some of you people never believe anything. You people who want power, watch this." He took his shirt off and was naked from the waist up. He took a piece of turquoise about as large as your thumb and as green as could be. He said, "If any of you people can do what I'm going to do, I'll believe in you. I can do it. This is solid turquoise. Look at it."

So they passed it around. They handed it back to him. He held it out. While everybody was looking he put it in the center of the sheet, far from him. He knelt down on both knees. Everybody was watching closely.

He said, "You people don't believe in anything. There's a turquoise here. I'm going to pray first. As soon as I stop praying I'm going to start to sing. During the singing watch that turquoise closely."

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755 He knelt down with arms outstretched. He prayed in a low tone. I couldn't
756 hear all of it. He prayed to Yusn, Child of the Water, Cloud, and other things.
He prayed for a long time.
• 789 Then he told us, "Watch that turquoise. It is going to be here in the center of my breast." And he held his arms outstretched with his hands open and began to sing. . . . . Between songs he told us to pray for our own good.

While he was singing, that turquoise disappeared. Everybody watched, and there it was right on his breast. And it started moving just like a little bug, going to his right arm, then moving up his arm, around his back to his other arm, and then back across the left arm to his chest. It was just like a little bug walking around on his back. And before you knew it, it was in the center of the sheet again. Everyone was praying. They believed there was something to him.

755 A shaman may also resort to such exhibitions to prove the
756 hopelessness of a case:

My father looked at the boy. He took two eagle tail feathers and stuck them down the boy's throat. He wobbled them around. He took the feathers out, and big worms were there on the white calico. They were big and they were fighting. My father said, "They are hungry. That means no lungs are left. I can't do anything for you. If you had come earlier, I could have cured him. But it is too late." He burned up the worms. . . . . They took him [the patient] back. . . . . He died.

755 If the cause of the illness is found to be witchcraft, the shaman may be counseled by his power to continue his songs and prayers with greater intensity and thus defy the witch. At the proper time (usually the fourth and last night) and under the direction of his supernatural sponsor, he sucks out the object of witchcraft with his lips or a tube and spits it into the fire, where it "pops."
[827] As the sorcerer's "arrow" falls into the fire, the onlookers spit,
[783] thus symbolically ridding themselves of things unclean. Objects of many kinds are sucked from the bodies of patients: "A bone, a stick, horsehair, a needle, human hair, a little buckskin pouch, a spider—these are the kinds of things taken out."

The traits which have been described are the ones most frequently represented in a curing rite, but occasionally other modes of treatment appear:

A shaman may, after working over a sick person or sucking on the place that hurts, make a hissing noise to the directions, as though driving away the disease. This is called "to blow away from him." Some specialize in this.

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. . . . They make steps of pollen just like those made at the girl's puberty rite and have the patient walk through. Anyone else who wants to can walk through after the patient finishes. They call it the trail of long life.

The ground drawing, too, may be an important feature of a particular rite. The one discussed below was used against epidemics as well as to foil the enemy.

I do not want to draw it because I do not know it. No one transferred the power to me, and it would not be wise for me to try it. This ground drawing was used in war too. Once it was used when I was there. A regiment of cavalry and a regiment of infantry were after us. This shaman drew the picture in pollen on the ground and left it there. Then we retreated to a hill. Both regiments turned off the trail and went back by a roundabout way, though the trail was plain, and they could have kept going. That is the way the ground drawing works. When it is used like this, the enemy is unable to follow. Something happens to the enemy always. They give up before they get to the place of the ground drawing, or they cannot pass it.

Death in a near by home is the one event considered serious enough to halt a ceremony already started. "If there is a death in the camps, they stop any ceremony going on. They won't pray even. The ceremony has to be started over again. It can start the day after the person is buried."

Almost without fail, at the conclusion of a ceremony, the shaman imposes some food or behavior restriction upon the patient:

A Chiricahua, in the house of another, always asks if he can do anything before he does it. His host might have had a ceremony performed after which he was told not to let people smoke before him, step over him, or do any of a number of other things. We have to be careful not to disobey any of these things and cause sickness or harm to a friend.

The shaman restricts his patients. He tells some not to eat liver, entrails, heart, head, or not to let anyone step over them, or stand to the east of them when they are sitting down, or suddenly appear behind them. Or he might tell them never to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or, if someone gives them a piece of fruit and it drops, not to pick it up again and eat it.

Usually these restrictions are scrupulously respected:

One woman here was shot. She had a curing ceremony performed over her by one who specializes in gun wounds. He told her she must not eat deer meat, and to this day she will not do so. I know her well. Once I offered her deer meat, and she would not take it.

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755 and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I
756 must not put a knife in a cooking pot.[*] If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

[535] A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

731 Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the pre-
75 vention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer
535 rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them
789 to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain
796 Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

[522] It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messen-
[881] ger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

[252] [*] There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.
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He does not make a noise like the other masked dancers and does not mix with the others. Any others that touch him will be harmed. Just one is made. He wears juniper boughs on his arms. Sometimes he carries sticks.

The one who is dressed to stand for Black One does not have the wooden frame above the buckskin face mask. He just has feathers in a bunch at the top of the mask. He wears a buckskin mask, all black. He is colored black all over. He carries spruce in his hands, and spruce is tied to each arm too. He wears a skirt of woven yucca which comes down long. He doesn't dance. Black One is just made for something bad, to keep everything bad away.

All three types of masked dancer may appear in the same ceremony to stave off epidemics:

It was during the World War when the "flu" was first coming this way. D. called all the people together. He was going to keep it away. He made the regular masked dancers and also Gray One [clown] and Black One. He wanted to pick out the best man for Black One. He tried to pick me out, but I said, "I don't know the ways of Black One, and I might make a mistake, and things might not turn out right." So I was one of the regular masked dancers instead. S. and I were the regular masked dancers, and R.'s boy was Black One.

The people were very quiet when this was going on. They said that we were two of the best dancers ever seen. We had a good clown there. He said, "You fellows certainly put on a good dance." Black One said he saw nothing but fruit and flowers around the fire, so D. said, "All is well."

D. told the people then, "Don't say anything bad about this sickness. Don't mention it, or it will come back."

For a while no one died. Then someone mentioned it, and the sickness began to come again. D. took us up on a high hill. The wind was blowing dust from the east. D. pointed to it and said, "That wind is bringing sickness back. I'm certainly sorry, but I can't help it. I told you about it. I warned you of it. Now it's too late." And it was true. The sickness came back, and many died. F. made his masked dancers, but it did no good.

This sickness died down. Then it came a second time. The second time it came, D. did not make his masked dancers. He didn't make Black One or any of them. He said, "All of you were safe. There was no sickness. I helped you. I told you what to do. But now it's coming back. I can't stop it."

When the sickness was on its way the first time and D. made his masked dancers, I went over to his camp. Many were camping around his place. He had his masked dancers there, and the people stayed around the masked dancers and marked them with pollen. All these people camping around him kept well.

In this ceremony it was Black One through whom the Mountain People transmitted their message. But this is not always the case. Most often it is the leader or one of the members of the [787]

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regular masked-dancer group who receives the word of the supernaturals.

Some men when they dance say they see visions from the singing and praying of the shaman. I never did. I never saw a thing. Y. did though. It was in 1903 down at Fort Sill. There was smallpox. Lots of Indians were dying. We danced for four nights, from four in the afternoon until one or two at night. That was the hardest work I ever did. And you know, we never got that smallpox! It was all around. The Comanches had it. They were dying in Lawton, but we never got a case.

When the old man painted us he said, "Now one of you men is going to see a vision. I don't know which one it will be, but it will be one of you." I doubted it. I was a fool in those days. I didn't care. I just danced for a good time. Y. was the leader.

I watched Y. when he got the vision. This was the first night. The old man said someone would get it that night. We started out to dance at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The old man said it would have to be started while the sun was still up. There was a big crowd; Comanches, everyone was there. They put pollen on us dancers. We started dancing. We had to do what the old man told us. We had to go four times this way and that, and around the people. I was watching Y. He began going fast, shaking, running out to the woods and back. About three hours later we rested for a while. We were smoking. Y. said, "Fellows, the old man said someone was going to see a vision, and I saw it. But that's all I'm going to tell you. I'm going to tell it to the old man, and if he wants to tell it to you, all right." Later I heard him tell the old man something, and the old man said, "That's good!"

Masked-dancer ceremonies conducted for the public good are usually undertaken in response to requests from a number of people: "We asked R. to put on a ceremony for us, but he is too weak. So another man and I have been trying to get F. to make masked dancers for a long time. He did it the other day."

A number of protective masked-dancer rites have taken place in recent years. One, held to prevent the penetration of sleeping sickness, is described by a man who attended it.

Yesterday F. held his ceremony to keep away sleeping sickness. I didn't feel so good when I came back yesterday, so I went over. I thought that perhaps F.'s masked dancers would help me. The masked dancers performed once in the day and once in the night. He painted four regular masked dancers and two clowns.

The grounds were fixed this way: there were four spruce trees set up, one in each direction, and a fire was built in the center. To start the fire, they first put up the sticks like a tepee. The singers came in from the south and went around

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the fire clockwise four times. Then they took a place to the east of the spruce, facing the sunrise. Then F., the shaman, went around the fire once. Then he called to the masked dancers, "Now it's your turn." 731 751 535

They came in from the east and advanced to the fire and back four times. On the fourth time they gave their call. They did the same thing from every direction. Then they went around the fire four times, then around the outside of the trees four times. After that they came in from the east and stood in a single file facing the fire. Then F. told the people to paint the masked dancers. It took a long time. The dancers knelt so the children could reach them, putting their sticks on the ground. 789 796

This started about one o'clock in the afternoon. The night ceremony lasted until morning. Later F. gave a little talk. He said that he didn't think the sickness was going to spread this far but that it was best to make the ceremony to make sure anyway.

The masked dancers not only act to keep illness away but "they can find out what the trouble is when people are sick." If witchcraft is discovered, the impersonators may have to expose the sorcerers. "The dancers should not point with their sticks at the spectators unless the shaman tells them to look for an evildoer. Then they point him out. Usually the leader of the dance group is used for this." 535 755 754

Even the control of the weather is not beyond their function. On several occasions when the performance of the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite was threatened by stormy weather, I have seen the shaman gesture to the directions with a headdress in order to drive the clouds away. 535 789 821

A myth tells of the freeing of animals from the subterranean land where they were kept by Crow. There is the present belief, perhaps a corollary to this, in "animal homes," places within caves or mountains where the game is hidden. An example will indicate the type of "animal home" story that is common. 825 [793]

About eight or nine years ago there was a big snow at Whitetail. F. was hunting deer over there. He was on horseback. A deer jumped in front of him, and he started after it. He saw it disappear in a cave. Then he came on and met us. He told us, "The old people tell us that the animals come from caves in the mountains, and I believe them now." He told us the story of the deer he had chased.

Two others went to that cave with him. They followed the trail and found a hole there. They dropped a stone, and it sounded as though that hole were very

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756 292 deer. I saw a deer and ran to head it off. When I got to the point where I thought the deer would pass, I saw one of the men waving, telling me that the deer had gone back. It was raining a little. I started to go back. I went a long way looking around. It started to rain again. I began to look again. Close by, the lightning struck. I went to the place where it had struck and found the hat. This caused me to believe in my ceremony more than ever.

756 751 There is one other function of the lightning shaman, the making of amulets of various kinds to be worn as a protection against lightning and lightning sickness.[23]

Some say Lightning talks to them. When the lightning strikes a place, these people can go to the east of a pine tree that was struck and take a piece of wood. They shape it like this [a crude resemblance to the human figure with some features poorly indicated] and put it on them. They wear it suspended by four strings. The painting is done with a blue mineral and black specular iron ore. If this is made for a person, he won't be hit by lightning, and he won't be frightened by lightning.

824 278 [787] [752] *Plants.*—Occasionally, a plant is personified and becomes a source of ritual. One plant, now much used for wounds, revealed itself in a vision experience to a man who was wounded in battle and fell on it. The plant pushed him upward four times and spoke to him, telling him to chew the root, to rub some of it on the injury, and to put the unused leaves back in the ground. The man obeyed directions, recovered, and was able to reach his home and introduce this remedy.

824 721 789 648 539 A plant, as well as an animal, acted as supernatural guardian for a successful raider:

This happened long ago. The enemies used to know many ways to stop you, to make your legs ache so you couldn't get away with horses. My father was down in Mexico with a band. They drove away a good herd of cattle, burros, and horses from the Yaqui.

The Yaqui came on the trail. One of the men of the Yaqui knew a ceremony and was working against the Chiricahua. The Chiricahua had seen cacti thrown on their trail, and now they knew what it was for. They got cramps, their legs hurt, and they couldn't go fast. They were in danger, for the Yaqui were catching up.

For his raiding work my father mixed Wolf and Cactus [a small variety of hedgehog cactus type] together. They asked him to sing and he did. He found

[23] Among the ethnological specimens collected by M. R. Harrington from the Chiricahua Apache at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909 were a number of lightning fetishes.

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out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. They had no trouble after that.

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Antelope and deer.—Deer and antelope ceremonies have as their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

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The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his power source is the success with which he can predict when, where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at will has been claimed.

Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."

But the other refused. . . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."

"No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

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The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the benefits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

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on the hunt is of constant importance to all grown men, those who do not possess such supernatural help, when they have been unsuccessful for any length of time, go to a deer or antelope shaman and hire him to perform his ceremony on their behalf.

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The concept of animal homes is frequently encountered in connection with hunting rites:

A long time ago they made arrows of lightning for the Indians. There was one little cloud up in the sky, and the lightning from there killed a deer. All the time the Indians used to eat antelopes and deer killed by lightning.

One time a bunch of men just like these Indians around here got together and were talking. They said, "If we have lightning to kill things, pretty soon there will not be anything left on this world." So the old men talked about making arrows out of carrizo. They took this reed which is hollow and put inside it a foreshaft with a mark like a crawling snake.[34] They could shoot with it then. They did not have guns in those days. The Indians had bows and arrows in those days, but they could not kill anything. The lightning would kill things for them before this, but they could not find any game. Now the lightning would not help them any longer.

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One time they were almost starving. One man went out hunting and was trailing some deer tracks. It was flat all over and there was a little hole out there with deer tracks around it, but the man could not find the deer. He was looking around where the deer tracks were and he saw a man coming out of the hole.

The man said to him, "What are you looking for? You have been looking for a long time and you don't find anything."

The hunter said, "I am looking for deer. Their tracks are fresh around here, but I can't find them."

The other man said, "Deer? What do you mean by saying 'deer'? I guess you must mean my horses." Then this man added, "They were here this morning and I just put them in the hole a little while ago." And then this man told the hunter, "I will give you some ceremonial power and from now on you can see the deer and you will have plenty to eat." This is why Indians can now kill deer.

When the hunter went back to camp that night, the others asked him where he got the power to kill deer. They kept on asking and asking, but the hunter would not tell them, for the man at the hole had told him not to tell, saying, "Even if you come to other camps, don't tell or you won't get anything to eat from me." But the Indians kept on asking and after a while the hunter got angry and told them. And from that time on they were starving again.

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Before continuing to another story which emphasizes the importance of these animal homes, it is necessary to introduce a belief relating to the hunt:

[34] This refers to the fluting on the arrow.

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231 When you want to train a dog to be a good hunter or watchdog, burn an eagle
789 feather for it.
224 I wrap up an eagle feather in cloth with the kind of flies that bother animals. I burn this and throw a blanket over the dog's head so he can inhale the smoke.

If meat is rubbed on your feet and then given to a dog, that dog will stick by you and be a good watchdog. It will love you and guard you.

This is the way to make a dog good for trailing. Cut up four pieces of meat, spit on them, rub them on your moccasins to get some soil from there on them, put the meat in the dog's mouth, and talk to him, giving him instructions just as you would a boy.

Another way is to take a section of deer meat from the place where it swells between the two hoofs. Put this with the feather of the buzzard or crow. Put this to the windy side of the dog. Light it and make the dog inhale, saying to him, "May you keep the trail." We use the buzzard and crow because they fly all over and never miss a dead object. We use the deer meat so the dog will go after deer.

A friend told me to chop up a little rattlesnake into four parts and to give it to a dog with his meat. This is to be done when you want a fierce dog. It makes him fierce all right, but it is too dangerous. The dog is hard to handle then, even by the owner. The dog gets too mean, like a mountain lion. But if a man is far out alone and is afraid, it might be done.

232 There is a certain prickly pear that is called "dog medicine." It is a general tonic for a dog. You put it into his mouth whole.

825 The wolf has been known to offer a ceremony and special aid:
787 He smoked and prayed and went to bed again. He slept a little while and
539 then was waked up again. Before him sat a big timber wolf, white as snow. It was the most beautiful creature, he said, he ever saw. He wanted to touch it but was afraid to. Then Wolf took its paw and touched him and told him he needn't be afraid. So he touched the wolf. The fur felt very soft and fine and warm. He touched the four legs of the wolf, then touched his own legs and said, "Let my legs be as strong as yours."

The wolf spoke to him and said, "I've seen you..... I came to you myself. I will add what I can to the strength of your legs. You have done the right thing....."

231 *Horse* (*mule*, *burro*).—A characteristic horse ceremony was
787 obtained by a man who was raiding for horses:
539 Two men started south from their home. On the way a horse spoke to one of
755 them and gave him a ceremony. It happened this way. They were raiding for horses. They got to a town south of Tucson and found some horses there. They began to drive them off. At a certain place they stopped to rope horses to ride.

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231 755 539 It happened at Baharito. We were driving a bunch of wild horses. T. had the gentle horses and some of us younger men were running the wild ones. P.'s horse got his foot in a hole. The horse fell with him. The rope was caught around P.'s knee and he lay like dead with his mouth open when we came up. After the horse fell, it got up and walked a little ways and stood there. I was going to P., but Old T. said, "Get away and don't touch him."[31] So we went away and talked of other things.

T. went to the east side and walked toward him, praying softly to himself. I could not hear what he said. He touched him, kicked him four times under the foot, put pollen in his mouth, and told him to get up. And P. did. T. went back to where the horse fell and got dirt from four tracks and put it in P.'s mouth. Then he got saliva from the mouth of the horse and put it all over P.'s clothes.

231 755 533 539 [126] In recording ceremonial songs, the details of another horse ceremony were learned:

This is R.'s horse ceremonial song. We were driving horses to Whitetail where we were going to brand them. This happened at Whitetail Spring. There were only three horses left in the corral. W. went across. Two others were in there roping horses. The three horses started at once and knocked W. down. He was nearly dead; he didn't come to for three or four hours.

Then R. worked on him. That's how I heard this song. He sang more than this one song, but I just caught this one. If you ever get hurt from a horse, it will fix you up. He used some herbs in his ceremony too. . . . .

These are the words of the song:

The sun's horse is a yellow stallion;
His nose, the place above his nose, is of haze,
His ears, of the small lightning, are moving back and forth.
He has come to us.
The sun's horse is a yellow stallion,
A blue stallion, a black stallion;
The sun's horse has come out to us.

231 789 [533] [782] The horse ceremony is of great importance also in taming wild horses and in securing fresh horses on raids. When it is used for these purposes, the rite is confined principally to songs and prayers.

[777] Some knew how to sing before going on a raid. They sang to corralled horses, so the horses would give them good luck.

[126] Before leaving for raid or war, they often have a ceremony conducted by one who knows the ceremony of the horse. This is so good horses will fall into their

[756] [31] After a mishap with a horse, recovery is speedier if the injured person is not touched until a horse shaman takes charge.

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hands, so that their horses will be strong and carry them through, and so that all in the party will have good luck.

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Gambling is a serious enterprise, and horse-racing is one of its important forms:

A horse shaman performs a ceremony over race horses used for gambling. I have seen horses worked over like this. Horses which have been taken care of by a horse shaman in this way always have an eagle feather tied just where the tail bone leaves off. The owner of the horse usually gives the horse shaman something that has to do with a horse for his pay—a saddle, a blanket, a bridle, or something like that.

Anything fast, like the coyote, the fox, the wind, or clouds, should be used in songs to make a horse run fast.[11]

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When a valuable horse is to be gelded or is injured or sick (though "if a horse has been witched, you can't cure it"), the owner is likely to consult a horse shaman.

T. . . . knew the ceremony of the horse. He knew a lot about the sickness of this animal. I saw him castrate them. People brought the horses to him to castrate. He treated horses that couldn't pass water and some that were going blind too.

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But often the owner, though he is not a horse shaman, injects some ceremonialism into his care of his horse:

If a horse can't pass water, we have a little ceremony for it. Take a rope, hit the horse on the back with it, and tie a knot in the rope. Do this four times. Say prayers meanwhile. Don't hit the horse hard enough to hurt it. Then trot the horse a few hundred yards and bring it back to the same position.

When a horse gets blind, they cut the vein leading down from the eye that's getting bad. The horse gets well then. This is done to sheep now too. I have done it to both. If a horse is sluggish, it is given a root called "black medicine" which is put in oats or mescal or something the horse likes.

We practice bloodletting on a horse which is lazy. Then we put turquoise on the cut.

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Horses that are scary and jump sideways are fixed with eagle feathers. These are tied on the mane or to the bridle. Then the horse doesn't get scared. I did it like that at Whitetail myself.

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[11] The hummingbird is used as an aid in racing too: "Its feathers help in making a man or a horse speedy."

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Once I was sick with a bad case of kidney trouble. I went to the agency doctor, and he told me I couldn't get well. He said that I'd have trouble all the way through and that one day it would kill me. One side of my face and one side of my body were swollen. I got out of that hospital. Then, because they were distant relatives of mine, these two men sang for me and told me not to be worried, that I was going to get well. P. was there, S., B. and his wife, and some other people, the relatives of my wife. We were not alone.

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When they started to cure me, they first smoked. Then they used pollen, marking me on the face. Then they marked the faces of all who were present with pollen. I did it back to these two men, marked their faces with pollen, and the other people did it too. There were quite a few people present. The people always like to listen. Some heard there was going to be singing and just dropped in.

Then they started to sing. During the singing one of them was always drumming. Sometimes it was one of them, sometimes the other. They sang about the nighthawk, calling him Great Old Man Nighthawk, and asking him what it was best to do to get me well. They used feathers of the golden eagle. One had two of them sewed together and attached to his hand all the time.

Their power talked to them any time they asked him something, and they asked him questions right in the songs. Then they would look at each other and talk. One would say, "Do you hear that?" The other would answer, "Yes." But we couldn't hear a thing. Sometimes they got a message, but they would tell me they couldn't say anything about it until morning. They carried on the ceremony at night only for four nights.

When they first sang, Nighthawk spoke to them and said that they didn't have to be frightened, that I'd be going along all right in a few days. I had been laid up during February, March, and April. This was in late April.

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Next Nighthawk told them that there was a woman present who knew herbs and that it was best to have her use certain herbs on me. This was my own mother. They directed her in what to do, according to the word of their power, and she went out and gathered all the best herbs.

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All during their ceremony they learned many things about my future. They told me that in the future I was going to have land and own everything and have children too. They said the first was to be a boy, and it was. And they said, "You are not only going to have this boy but girls too. In the spring you are going to plow. You will look up and see just one little cloud. And it will open and rain first on your place." And it all really came true. In the spring I was plowing back of East Mountain. It rained first on my place. It did this for several years.

The ceremony helped me a great deal. D. told me not to eat liver until I got real well. By May, after the last snow, and when the birds first began to come, I was well. And so I think the power of the nighthawk was certainly strong.

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Owl.—When individuals are first troubled by the call of an owl or by thoughts and dreams of the dead, there are measures

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they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] explained: "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.

By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling persecution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[34] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."

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happen. Of the Chiricahua, R. is the only one now that knows the enemy-ghost ceremony."

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Since the more usual type of ghost sickness results from persecution by the shade of a departed acquaintance or relative, the period immediately following a death is a trying one, and a preventive rite may be performed:

The Chiricahua, if someone dies, may call in a shaman to perform a ceremony. The day after the dead person is put away, this shaman will go through a ceremony for them. The members of the family of the dead person look ragged. They have put on their oldest clothes and cut their hair. The men and women of the family have taken a little hair off, but from the children they have taken all the hair off. They have burned up the clothes they wore before the death. They move camp in any direction and go anywhere. Perhaps other people sympathize with them and give them something. Then the shaman comes over and sings for these people. This is to keep the ghost away. He goes through the ceremony he knows. Some shamans paint the faces of the mourners red; some use white paint. Each shaman has his own way.

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Most ghost ceremonies, however, are conducted to cure ghost sickness that has already been contracted. An owl shaman has supplied an interpretation of his own ceremony and an explanation of how he obtained it.

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I cannot tell how my great-grandmother got this ceremony, but my grandmother got it from her. My grandmother cured many. She could only cure those who were sick from the owl or whom witches had made sick through the owl. Owl sickness just affects a person from the heart to the head. The Mexicans killed my grandmother a long time ago. I got the ceremony from a strong memory. I kept in mind what she did.

After my grandmother died, an owl nearly killed a little child. Other people knew that my grandmother had known about Owl. They guessed that I might have the power too. So a certain woman came to me for help and asked me to try this ceremony. I went to her home with her. I cured that child the same night. I found that the power of my grandmother wanted to work through me too.

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Now I can pray and I am able to get sick people well. My power can be used only at night though. When I hold my ceremony, if it doesn't work after two nights, I give up, for something else is wrong. . . . . Or perhaps a witch prevents the cure. Some witches have great power, sometimes more than I have. I can only try to help a person for two nights. Then I have to give them up. The person has to go to a more powerful shaman then, for some are more powerful than I am. I cure through song, prayer, and strong belief with the ceremony of the owl.

If an owl has scared a person into unconsciousness, someone comes for me,

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755 At the conclusion of most snake ceremonies, as in the case of 262 other rites, food and behavior restrictions are imposed:

784 You must not stir boiling meat with a knife or use the knife as a spoon. If you should lie down flat on your back with your legs crossed, no one should step over your legs. A rope must not be used on a person who has been bitten. In using a rope you must not string it out toward your camp or house. You must always go out the door of the home or tent, not out of the sides. In quarreling you must use no words that have anything to do with the snake. You must not eat the marrow of leg bones. You must not eat meat from the breast of an animal.

751 Often the patient, after an attack of snake sickness, is given a protective amulet:

After you go through a snake ceremony, the shaman may make a bandoleer for you to wear, or give you a stone to wear, or make you an arm band, if you are a man. For a woman he may have a beaded strip which she should wear in her hair. These will make the patients immune so that the snake cannot harm them again.

825 Fewer data exist concerning the place of other reptiles in the ceremonialism. Of the gila monster it was remarked, "I hear it [533] mentioned in the ceremonial songs of old Chiricahua, but that's the only way it's used now that I know of," and of the turtle: [237] "Some shamans use the shell for the giving of medicine. B. gave [788] me some in one. He marked the shell with pollen and gave it to me four times. They say that the turtle shell cannot be hit by [773] lightning." The lizard appears in the myths as a helper of Child of the Water and the small animals in their triumphs over the monsters, and it is considered a potential source of supernatural power.

411 *Weapons.*—The ordinary protection afforded by weapons is • 789 enlarged, in certain cases, to include supernatural help as well, [533] and a set of songs and prayers known as "ceremony from the [782] gun" (the same word means gun or bow) has arisen. Sometimes this ceremony is called "ceremony against the enemy."

Old Man S. was with Geronimo's bunch all through the war. . . . . He has power from the gun; they say. They say he used to get out on the bank; all the soldiers shot at him and couldn't hit him. One who went to shoot him might fall down or drop his gun; then S. would kill him instead. Another man told me he knows a gun ceremony. He, too, went through all the wars safely. Geronimo is said to have known this ceremony. He never got hurt either. Something always

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[facing p. 311]

PLATE XI

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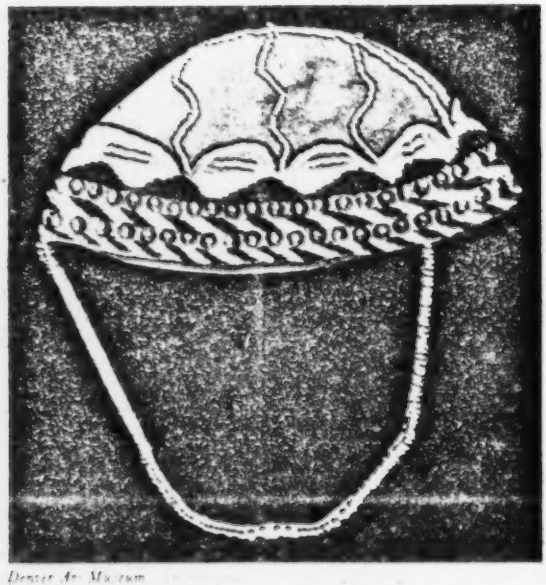
United States National Museum



Denver Art Museum

CEREMONIAL HATS FOR PROTECTION IN WAR

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happens to your gun when you try to shoot at such a fellow. Your gun jams, for instance. The one who knows this ceremony can fix it for someone else so that, when he is shot at, he will be missed.

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The shield is always ceremonial and belongs to this kind of power. When you see a man with a shield, you know it was made for him by a ceremonial man in connection with a war ceremony. It's not like a bow or a sling. It's not just a weapon. Anyone couldn't have this. The shield is called "that which I hold up" in a ceremonial way. It is the same with the lance. You could only get it from a man who had the right to make it. It is not just a weapon. [411]

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I think I'm going to learn the gun ceremony from an old man now. I got him when he was a little full and asked him if he knew anything he would show me. He said, "Yes, I know Gun." He told me it would be easy for me to learn, that it was mostly some prayers and songs. He showed me some of it right there. In these songs and prayers the parts of the gun are given certain names. The wooden stock is called the earth. The metal barrel is called the moon. The little screws that hold it together are called whirlwind. This is true of all gun ceremonies. I'm going to see him again and learn more about it.

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The preparation of shields and designed garments to be given to the client as protective amulets receives constant mention:

In connection with the gun ceremony there were circular buckskin head coverings. These were carried but not worn often. Actually, a man wore a strip of buckskin or cloth or a handkerchief around his head in war. Just the war shaman and those to whom he gave them had the hats. Most of the time the hat was just rolled up and tied to the quiver.

The shamans of the war ceremony made hats. These went with the shields; they were made by the same men. These hats were of buckskin. Some were round and decorated all around the rim. Some were colored black and white and were designed with serrated figures, four-pointed stars, and lightning symbols. Sometimes a jacket was given to the person to wear. [531]

411 788 789 [873]

A protective ritual formula, allegedly first executed by Child of the Water before his conflict with the giant, was described by an informant who is reputed to know the gun ceremony:

Spit on the palm of the left hand. Dip the first finger of the right hand in the saliva and make a cross with it on the left foot, thigh, forearm, and cheek. As the crosses are made, call upon the four Thunders: Black Thunder, Blue Thunder, Yellow Thunder, and White Thunder.

Then recite the following prayer, "Black flint is over your body four times. Take your black weapon to the center of the sky. Let his weapons disappear from the earth." This prayer, with only the colors changed, is repeated four times. Then rub the first finger of the right hand horizontally across the lips four times.

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41 Now the bow and arrows (or the gun) are held against the chest, pointing first
788 downward to the left, then upward to the right. At the same time face the east
789 and pray. The weapon is next worked over the right shoulder, across the back, and down to the left hand.

Then the bow string is run through the mouth, and some of the "juice" of the string is sucked off. This is spit into the palm of the left hand, and crosses are made with the juice as before. Then the prayer is repeated.

778 *Sacred places and summary.*—Besides the homes of the Moun-
[172] tain People, places with markings on the walls or on rocks may be considered sacred. "I have heard the old men tell of one cave which has the sun, moon, stars, and Mountain Spirits on the walls. . . . . They pray when they see this."

There are also wayside shrines and places of offering:

It is a pile of rock and stones about four feet high and eight feet wide. There are four holes in the center. The foundation is east and west, and the holes are running toward the east. You pick up a stone or leaves and hold this to the four
[782] corners—east, south, west, and north—while you pray. Then you drop what you have in the hole. It's asking a blessing. They take this to be a holy place.

We were on a trip by horse and we came to one of these. The older people told us younger ones what to do. We were on horseback. We rode around the left side of the shrine and dropped the stone in and then came right back. We could have done it on foot too. I have heard ceremonial songs, a long time ago, mention these shrines. The name means that rocks churn about in this place.

[773] One informant ascribed the origin of sacred shrines to the mytho-
[777] logical figure, Kantaneiro, who "told the Indians to do this for long life and good luck."

These shrines are now used primarily as a place of contemplation and prayer by persons starting on a perilous trip:

There is a ceremonial place on that mountaintop. The people go there before they leave on a long or dangerous journey. It is believed that, if you go to the place and drop a stone on the pile already there or throw on a sprig of a juniper tree, you will return safely.

128 In a society where shamanism is so broadly construed, to be sure that every possible rite is represented in a collection, it would be necessary to have the perfect confidence of everyone in the community and to work with every adult. What has been
[787] presented is admittedly only a sampling. Comments and stories pertaining to ceremonies obtained through supernatural experi-

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The proper care of the meat and the skeletal parts of the deer must be kept in mind until the animal is entirely consumed. It is forbidden to "take the meat when it is hot and blow upon it," for such action is likely "to blow the deer away." "We don't just throw the bones away. We are careful. We put them in a nice pile. They say if you throw the bones, it throws the deer away. You won't see any more deer when you are out hunting." Other safeguards are employed for individual ends:

Other things, like handling the meat a certain way, or not giving away certain parts, are done mostly at the direction of ceremonial men. If your luck has been bad and you've hunted all week without killing a thing, you might go to some man who has songs for this and ask him to help you. He will give you some restriction or rule on your hunting. That's how these things start.

The game animal next in importance to the deer is the pronghorn or antelope. Separate hunts to obtain antelopes are less frequent, however; often such hunts wait upon a chance encounter which reveals the presence of the antelopes. In general, the same usages, ceremonial and practical, which mark the deer hunt are true for the antelope hunt. The solitary hunter makes considerable use of the antelope-head mask. "They fix the antelope head for hunting. They take all the bone out, leaving only horns and ears. Only a man with ceremonial knowledge will do it, they say. They call hunting with a mask of this kind 'he slips up to it.'"

Stalking antelopes is even more time-consuming and difficult than approaching deer:

The antelopes live on the flats. They are harder to get near than deer. They are hunted like deer, with a mask. The hunter wears a jacket painted like an antelope skin. He has a stick in one hand. He imitates the walk of the antelope. If a herd of antelopes is seen in the distance, the hunter works up to them. It takes two or three hours sometimes, for it is necessary to advance slowly, acting just like the animals. The grass is tall, and the hunter keeps his head just above the grass.

The relay chase is used to secure pronghorns, too:

A group of about ten men sometimes goes off on horseback to hunt antelopes. When the antelopes are sighted, one bunch scatters the antelopes toward the other men who are strung along on horseback. When one horse gets tired, an-

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formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black." 726 411

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated with the ceremony obtained from weapons: 726 714

They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain. [756] [789] [531]

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexicans: 726 411 [756] [778] [177] [554] 726 411 648

I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

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726 411 After the fast-loading gun with cartridges already fixed was in use, you had to be very quick and a good warrior to use a spear. Not everyone used spears. Just a few were brave enough to use a spear that close.

756 726 787 [789] Before the beginning of the journey constant measures of a religious nature are taken. Amulets are procured; protective caps and jackets are made or refurbished; shamans are consulted concerning the probable outcome of the expedition. "The leader goes to a shaman and says, 'You know something. Help us. What will happen?' Then the shaman sings and prays and he tells the people to go on, that they will have success." Sometimes the prophecies of the shaman are not so reassuring, however. "Before they leave camp they might all go in a body to the shaman. He conducts his ceremony, and if he feels that the raid will not come off safely, he says so, and the party does not go out."

Raiding and warfare are the special interests of those who have supernatural power to find or frustrate the enemy. Therefore, one or more shamans are fairly sure to accompany any large war party. Not infrequently the leader himself is a man renowned for his religious attainments as well as for his military prowess. During the entire course of the journey the advice of those who claim revelations in regard to war are treated with respect. Even if the party does not include eminent shamans, the rank-and-file warriors do not fail to come ritually prepared: [708] [278] "Each warrior carries a bag of pollen. Pollen is given to him with other herbs if he gets sick [during the war expedition]."

726 [198] The entire encampment gathers to watch the departure of the group. "They start sometime in the morning. When they are going for a real fight, everyone sees them off. When the men leave in the morning, the women give their call of applause."

722 562 784 The women, especially the wives of the departing men, have certain obligations during the absence of the warriors:

The women are careful about keeping the woodpile neat while the men are gone. The wood should be placed one way and should not be scattered, and the children should be kept off it for fear they will throw it around, and then the man will be lost. There are no other restrictions on the women when the husbands are out fighting. Some women pray when their husbands are out. Some are as religious as anything, but this praying is not general. During raids or wars the

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727 They scalped enemies. They did it to the whites. They put the scalp on a stick and hold it up and dance. . . . . They put it on a tree after the dance and let it dry and rot away.

The Chiricahua do not take the scalps of all the fallen enemies; but they take just one scalp, that of the man they believe to be the leader. Then they all go home with the stock that they have captured. They take this one scalp home with them.

[535] At home the hair of the scalp is tied onto a stick, and one man holds this stick upright with the scalp at the top of it. They have a dance around this scalp, lasting four days. The reason for the dance is that it is revenge for their dead, and they are proud, thinking that they are even with the other side. The widow, mother, and sister of a dead warrior feel proud when they see the scalp. They feel that they are even with the other side, and they take part in the four-day dance. They dance the round dance.

There is no interest in accumulating scalps; instead there is a fear of them. "They just let the scalp stay there until it wastes [715] away; they don't do anything to it. Those who handle the scalp • [789] usually burn the 'ghost medicine' so the ghost won't bother them in any way."

727 184 All specific accounts of the scalp dance, incidentally, are from members of the Eastern band, neighbors of the Mescalero Apache and nearest to the Plains and its influences. Persons from other bands deny that they shared the custom. Said a member of the Central band: "I have never heard of a scalp dance among my people. I have been asking the old people. All say the Central Chiricahua do not do this." And from a man of the Southern band comes the statement: "We did not scalp or display a scalp at this time or any other. We are afraid of the blood and the ghost of the man. We didn't want to have anything to do with it."

727 Prisoners are taken in battle for a number of reasons:

When they capture a prisoner they always question him and get what information they can. If he won't give it, they usually kill him right there, or else they take him back to camp for the women to kill. Grown men are never kept alive to be married into the tribe or enslaved. A mature man is dangerous, and [597] they kill him. But a young boy of four, five, or six is adopted into the tribe. He becomes a real Chiricahua and later marries into the tribe. Children like this are captured when their father and mother are killed. The Chiricahua take the children to increase the tribe, and they are treated like other children. When the

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727 354 There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally discarded at this time, but there are suggestions that more freedom than usual is allowed:

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> The dancing may go on for two, three, or four days. There is much feasting. Some people are eating, others are dancing. There are many marriages during this period. The Chiricahua, when they were captured and taken to Mexico, noticed that, when the Mexican people had a big victory, they always celebrated by dancing and marrying and having a good time. To get even with them, the Chiricahua turn their victories into a celebration and a dancing and marrying time. Many young men take advantage of the occasion.

727 Thoughts of death are not permitted to interfere with the happy mood: "Dead warriors are not mentioned in the songs, and the deaths are in no way formally announced. When the war party returns, the members state the news of the casualties privately." There is no general purifying rite for those who have come in contact with corpses during the fighting. The use by some of "ghost medicine" to stave off evil effects is "an individual matter; they don't do it in a bunch."

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THE GATHERING AND UTILIZATION OF WILD FOOD PLANTS

462 222 The responsibility of exploiting the wild-plant resources of the region falls to the women:

[512] While the man is hunting, the woman gets up before sunrise, builds the fire if the man hasn't already done so, and cooks the morning meal, using meat if there is some, vegetables if not. Then she goes out to gather seeds or plants, leaving the small children with another woman. She gathers yucca fruit, piñon nuts, or whatever is in season and carries it all home to prepare.

Gathering, preparing, and storing fruits and vegetables provide a continual round of labor as the women follow the natural harvests:

[251] In spring they go out for mescal. They keep going for it for some time. They get plenty of it and store it up. By the time that is done they can go out after the first acorns and bring them in and store them in bags. Then the yucca fruit and the sumac berries and other things are ready.

821 805 The preoccupation with the growth of wild plants is reflected in the attitude toward the seasons and in the names of the principal time periods. Besides the four seasons, six time periods, beginning with the first signs of spring, divide the year. Their

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facing forward. Most face the line, but some are trained the other way. We ride them bareback. Women do not ride against men, but they do race among themselves. There are cross-country horse races too. It takes one day's travel to cover the course. 541

Some sing for their horses. This is done at home before the race. Let us say a man's horse is going to run tomorrow. He is going to bet heavily on it. Then he will sing for the horse so it will win. Not everybody knows such a ceremony, but some know the songs. If you don't know songs, you might pay a person to sing for your horse. The same thing is done for runners in the foot races. [533] [789]

Shinny is one of the roughest and most taxing of the games: 526

To play shinny you have to have a stick about three and a half feet long which is hooked at one end. It is usually made of oak wood and the curved part is the root. The one who is making it heats it and ties it around at one end and lets it stay tied for a day or overnight, if it has been made in the evening. The next day it will be curved and will stay that way. Some players carry a second stick, a straight one, too, when they play. The straight stick is used for protection. It is used to ward off the other fellow's stick. Some play without this second stick though.

They usually knock off a piece of round wood for the ball. It is about half the size of a baseball when it is finished. Sometimes a buckskin ball of the same size is used. Any number can play on a side. Usually there are from five to twelve on a side. But there has to be the same number on each side.

A flat place a half-mile long or less is chosen. When there are ten or twelve on a side, they use a longer distance. The width does not matter except at the goal. But at the goal the ball has to go between two objects, usually trees, to count. This is true for both sides.

In starting the game they all march out into the center of the field. They just guess at the center. The two leaders meet in the center and hook their sticks like two boxers touching gloves. They spit on something flat and throw it up, and one of them calls, "Wet," or "Dry." The one who wins out on this can choose the side his team will play on. Each side scatters out and faces the other's goal. [777]

The two leaders tell their men to get ready. They decide which of them is going to throw the ball high in the air between them. Or another fellow is there to throw it up. Players from the same side can be on both sides of the center to start, so that if their leader misses the ball at first and the other leader hits it, they can get possession of it.

When the ball goes up, the two in the center can hit it in the air as it is on its way down or wait until it strikes the ground. But it has to be hit with the stick. If I am one of these leaders and think that the other fellow will miss it in the air, I wait until he has swung and is off balance, and then I hit it from the ground to one of my men.

Once the ball is in play, they can advance it by kicking it or by hitting it with

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622 554 But most often nothing as formal as this takes place. The retirement of the leader is gradual. His son or some prominent younger man who works closely with him and has his confidence takes charge in an increasing number of situations where physical vigor is essential. The old man, on the other hand, devotes a greater amount of attention to affairs of the camp. It is only a matter of time before the former leader is satisfied to act as the honored patriarch and as "he who commands for the home," leaving to his successor the responsibility for major decisions and military action. Therefore the length of the leader's period of service can be said to depend to a large degree upon his health and the amount of assistance he himself requires. Many leaders hold their following unchallenged until their death because they remain clear of mind and commanding in manner despite advancing years. The hereditary rights of a leader are honored only as long as he can fulfil the promise of his birth:

> If the group is dissatisfied with their leader, if they are tired of him and don't like him, they may just move away and camp elsewhere and recognize another leader. Then the former leader is left alone with his family. If a leader sees that such a thing is going to happen, he can, of course, give up his rights of leadership and remain with the group as an ordinary man.

Leadership, then, is a process in which birth and wealth have their place, but in which ability and personal magnetism are always the leavening factors.

888 [554] Whatever a man's rank in society, as long as he is not senile, advancing years entitle him to increased deference. "A person is respected more in home life when he reaches his prime." This attitude is indicated in countless small details of everyday life. The older person, for instance, is permitted to open the conversation when two individuals meet. One young woman is criticized [576] because she is "too forward with older people" and frequently takes the initiative in greetings. When friends embrace, the older acts first.

888 789 Whatever aged men and women do for the young is especially appreciated; the hope is that the actions of the elders may operate as a prayer to secure comparable long life for the child:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

If a very old woman, though she is no relative to me or my wife, comes in here, she can pick up my child and call it, "my daughter's child." If there are more than the one around, she can call them by the term that White Painted Woman used to Child of the Water. This has been handed down from the beginning. I've seen many old women who have a kind heart for children do this. Old men can do it too. It's a religious way, sort of a blessing. 888 789

Also, certain of the prohibitions are less strictly applied to the aged. It will be recalled that very old people may joke in a mildly risqué manner with affinal relatives whom they had to treat much more circumspectly when they were young. 888 602

And yet, the consolations of age notwithstanding, this way of life is such a strenuous one that the episodes of action and daring of youth and middle age are the treasured moments in a career. The individual grows old reluctantly, with his eyes on the past, often with sad songs that recall his lost youth: 886 533

Many years ago I saw an old man sitting by the fire working. He sang this song then, and, as he sang it, the tears rolled down his cheeks. He was thinking back to the good times he had when he was a young man. It's really an old man's song. They just sit there in a pitiful way and sing it slowly. I can't sing it like that.

When I was young, I took no heed;
Old, old I have become!
Because I knew that age would come
To me, I took no heed.

But to those who live still longer there comes a time when life becomes a burden, when debility hems them in, and "they are not happy because they can't get around." Then, at last, the aged person must confess: 886

Well, I've seen my best days. I am old. I am a nuisance to the group, and if anything happens to me it's all right. When I was young, I saw happy days and I had a good time. Now I'll never see those days again. I'm old and useless and not fit for anything, not even to live.

l:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

764 brought is buried with the corpse. What they don't bury with him is burned or
764 destroyed back home. All that a person had is destroyed. They say that what-
768 ever is thrown away with a dead person that belongs to him he carries to the underworld. They want him to have the use of these things in the other world. They don't want him to get there poor. They want to show that they do not hold property above their relative. And they don't want anything that the dead person had used a great deal to be around. It would only remind people of the
[775] one who died and bring them sorrow. Also they fear that the ghost of the person who owned the article will come back to molest the one who keeps it.

For the same reasons they kill the horse that has carried the dead person's possessions. It is stabbed in the throat or shot, at or near the grave. If a man has several horses, sometimes they kill them all; sometimes only his favorite horse or horses, the ones he actually used all the time. It is because a person used a thing continually and it is associated with him and reminds you of him that you don't want to keep it. People don't want to see his horse. Because he used to ride it so much, to have it around reminds them of the former owner. Besides they kill the horses so they will go with the dead person. The saddles are burned.

They don't have to kill all the horses of the family though. All the horses of a
[422] family are not thought of as belonging to one person, even to the man who is the head of that family. If a family has five or six horses, one is considered the property of a child, another of the wife, and so on. A man might not be considered to possess more than one or two horses of his own. These are his favorites and the
[765] ones he always used, and they are killed at his death. They cut the tails and manes of horses if any are kept at the death of a man.

Everything is buried or destroyed. If a woman's baskets or pots are not buried with her, they put holes through them. Nothing is left whole, for they don't want them used again, even by mistake. Usually for a man the only things that are buried with him are his clothes and weapons. Other things are burned.

The things he used in his ceremony are not kept either. Those things are destroyed. Sometimes they put them in the grave with the dead person. Some hang them on a tree. There was one woman who died at Fort Sill. She had a cross that she used in her ceremonial work. They put it in her grave with her. Then at night something like lightning would come out of the grave.

764 When the person died of old age, branches of fruit-bearing trees are used to
766 cover the grave. When an old Indian dies, they bring branches of all trees that
[824] bear fruit. They put the limbs on top of the grave. They say, "Next season I hope
[551] there will be many of these trees." Young people call the dead out by name and say, "I hope that I will also grow old."[1] When a person dies in youth, his name is
[824] not called this way. When they bury a person, they brush off their own bodies
[789] with green grass and then put it on him in the form of a cross. Then they won't
[828] dream of him.

[1] This material was obtained from a Southern Chiricahua informant. A
[115] member of the Eastern Chiricahua band claimed to know nothing about the particular procedure.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

755 fourth verse of the songs, or at the end of the second or fourth song, he looks for some sign or word from his power which will guide him in the further steps to be taken. If sorcery has caused the complaint, the object shot into the victim by the sorcerer may have to be sucked out, either through a tube or with the lips. A concoction of herbs as [757] medicine may be prescribed. Food and behavior taboos may [784] be imposed on the patient. Various plants may be burned that the patient may inhale the smoke. Parts of animals and ceremonial objects may be rubbed on the sufferer's body.

755 82 Red ochre, white clay, and specular iron ore figure prominently in Apache ceremonials in addition to the ritual objects already mentioned. Snakeweed *(Gutierrezia* sp.), grama grass *(Bouteloua* sp.) and sage *(Artemisia* sp.) are plants much used in ceremonial contexts. The source from which curative power comes is nearly always represented in the rite by some body part. If that source is animal, its hide or some part of it will be in evidence. If it is a bird, the tail feather will, in all likelihood, be found among the ceremonial paraphernalia manipulated.

778 787 789 Though curing occupies the central place in Apache ceremonialism, power can be approached with other ends in view, and its aid obtained for locating the enemy, finding lost objects, helping in the hunt, for learning the probable outcome of a given course of action, and for the solving of many other problems.

852 There were ceremonies, too, which were performed over the growing child at specific times to insure for him long life and good health. A ceremony was held when the child was put into the cradle; another when he was about to walk. About a year later, in the spring, a rite was performed in which the hair was cut, that it might afterwards grow out full and thick.

881 The only Apache ceremony which deviated from the shamanistic principle and which did not depend for its success upon the personal relation between a shaman and [793] his power, was the girl's puberty rite. This was a rite which in theory had been taught to the Apache by the culture here

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

, he comes. These articles have to be given to the shaman if the cure is to be a success. They are given before the ceremony really gets started. Pollen, turquoise, abalone, feathers, white shells, and a black-handled knife are among the objects which may be needed.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

Whether or not he expects all of them as ceremonial payment, the shaman has a variety of ritual paraphernalia and substances on hand to be used in the ceremony: some combination of pollen, eagle feathers, abalone, turquoise, unblemished buckskin, animal parts, baskets, designed clothing, specular iron ore, a carved and designed cane or staff, yellow ochre, various other paints, plants, and medicines. The attitude toward some of these sacred substances and objects and the manner in which they are used are detailed thus by informants:

In my ceremony I use tule pollen at sunrise. The next night I use piñon pollen. The third morning at sunrise I use pollen from pine. The fourth day at noon I use sunflower pollen. All shamans use pollen. It stands for life and health. In a ceremony I saw Geronimo perform, he used pollen to make signs to the directions and then put the pollen in the sick man's mouth. He made crosses of pollen on the man's head, chest, right shoulder, back, and left shoulder.

Abalone has life. It has lots of good. Everything good is in it. Many shamans use it. Many of them say that without it they cannot carry on their ceremonies. When it is real blue inside it is male. This is the most powerful kind. When it is not the good color, when it is greyish, it is female. For my ceremony I polish the outside and use the scrapings for medicine. It is good for any kind of pain anywhere. It is also a protection against witches. I put some in medicine to cure lightning sickness too.[2]

[2] It is interesting to note that while abalone shell contrasts with turquois, the representative of the male principle in Chiricahua religion, and stands for the female principle, abalone which is bluish inside is called "male" and abalone which is pinkish or whitish is termed "female." Evidently the alternation in both instances is due to a color-sex association, blue for male and a light color (pink, white, grey) for female.